

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10

EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01 AID-05 NEA-09 FEA-01

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R 110605Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7848

INFO AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR UN

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OAU/XA

SUBJECT: TANZANIAN PROPOSALS FOR TIGHTENING SOUTH AFRICAN BOYCOTT

REF: (A) DAR ES SALAAM 1030 AND PREVIOUS, (B) DAR ES SALAAM 1016
(C) DAR ES SALAAM 1001 (D) DAR ES SALAAM 1030

1. SUMMARY: HIGHLIGHTS OF APRIL 9 SESSION OF OAU SUMMIT WERE EXPOSITION OF DETAILED TANZANIAN PROGRAM FOR INCREASING WORLD BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS PROPOSAL TO BE MORE ACTIVE IN LIBERATION FRONT EFFORTS SUCH AS BY TRAINING OF URBAN GUERILLAS. ANNOUNCEMENT BY NIGERIA OF SUPPORT FOR TANZANIAN POSITION POSITION ON CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA WAS KEY TO TIPPING BALANCE ON THIS ISSUE.

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OTHER SPEAKERS INCLUDED REPRESENTATIVES OF ALGERIA, SENEGAL AND

GHANA. TANZANIA RELEASED TEXT OF LONG POSITION PAPER OUTLINING ITS DUAL POLICY OF CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO NEGOTIATE INDEPENDENCE OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND TOTAL BOYCOTT TO PROTEST APARTHEID. END SUMMARY.

2. SPEECHMAKING CONTINUED DURING APRIL 9 SESSION OF NINTH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, WITH DELEGATES FROM TANZANIA, NIGERIA, GHANA, SENEGAL AND ALGERIA TAKING FLOOR. HIGHLIGHT OF THE DAY, AS REPORTED SO FAR BY PRESS, WAS TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JOHN MALECELA'S PROPOSAL OF A MULTI-POINT ACTION PROGRAM FOR TIGHTENING WORLD BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

3. SUMMARY OF THESE POINTS, AS REPORTED IN LOCAL PRESS, IS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) AFRO-ASIAN OIL EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA,

ESTABLISHED IN NOVEMBER 1973, SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED. NEW INSTITUTIONAL MACHINERY SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED, AND PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTING BOYCOTT IDENTIFIED, SINCE BOYCOTT HAS PROVED INEFFECTIVE, LARGELY BECAUSE OF WESTERN OIL COMPANIES AND ESPECIALLY BRITISH PETROLEUM (BP).

(B) FREE AFRICA SHOULD IMPOSE A TOTAL BOYCOTT ON TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA, AND SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE WITH ITS TRADITIONAL TRADING PARTNERS WHOULD BE DISCOURAGED.

(C) SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS LANDING RIGHTS AT LUANDA (ANGOLA) AND SAL (CAPE VERDE ISLANDS), ONLY ONES IT NOW HAS IN AFRICA, SHOULD BE CANCELLED. OTHER AIRLINES SHOULD BE DENIED TRANSIT RIGHTS TO AND FROM SOUTH AFRICA. (NOTE: SWISSAIR CURRENTLY HAS TRANSIT AND PASSENGER RIGHTS IN TANZANIA FOR A SOUTH AFRICAN FLIGHT.) AIRFARE CONCESSIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA GRANTED BY I.A.T.A. SHOULD BE CANCELLED. BAN ON AIR TRANSPORT SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO SHIPPING AS WELL. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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(D) OAU MEMBERS SHOULD CONSULT AND ADOPT COMMON POLICY AGAINST VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA BY THEIR NATIONALS.

(E) MULTI-NATIONAL COMPANIES OPERATING BOTH IN SOUTH AFRICA AND IN INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES SHOULD BE GRADUALLY SQUEEZED OUT OF FREE AFRICA.

(F) MIGRANT LABOR FROM INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES (MOZAMBIQUE, MALAWI, BOTSWANA, LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND) SHOULD BE GRADUALLY PHASED OUT. THERE WERE SOME 600,000 FOREIGN AFRICAN WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1972, 296,000 OF THEM IN MINING. IMMEDIATE PROHIBITION OF SUCH MIGRATORY LABOR IS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT AT HOME, AND COUNTRIES' NEED FOR THE FOREIGN REVENUE LABOR BRINGS HOME. BUT COUNTRIES INVOLVED SHOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES, WITH SUPPORT OF OAU AND PERHAPS UN, TO GRADUAL PHASE-OUT OF THIS LABOR, AND EACH COUNTRY SHOULD CHARGE SOUTH AFRICA A ROYALTY OR LEVY ON EACH CONTRACT WHICH WILL THEN BE USED TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENT.

(G) ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN TO EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF WHICH IT STILL A MEMBER.

(H) OAU SHOULD SEEK WAYS OF INCREASED COOPERATION WITH ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANIZATIONS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY IN WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA.

(I) EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO UNIFY SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

(J) GUERILLAS SHOULD BE TRAINED IN URBAN AND INDUSTRIAL GUERILLA WARFARE.

(K) AFRICAN WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO ENGAGE IN STRIKES AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIONS.

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(L) AFRICAN BANTUSTAN LEADERS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO REFUSE MEANINGLESS "INDEPENDENCE".

(M) COUNTRIES NEAR SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD COOPERATE WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO MAKE DAILY OR WEEKLY BROADCASTS TO SOUTH AFRICA, IN ORDER TO POLITICIZE AFRICAN MASSES.

(N) SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO OPEN FRON-LINE OFFICES IN SUCH COUNTRIES AS SWAZILAND, BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE AND LESOTHO.

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EUR-12 SIL-01 LAB-04 /101 W

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R 110605Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7849

INFO AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR UNN

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

4. NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DR. OKOI ARIKPO ENDORSED CONTACTS OF TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA AND FRELIMO WITH SOUTH AFRICA AIMED AT LIBERATION OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. NOTING THAT RHODESIAN ANC AND SWAPO HAD ENDORSED TERMS OF THESE CONTACTS, HE SAID "I CONSIDER THESE TERMS TOTALLY ACCEPTABLE AND COMMEND THEM." HOWEVER, OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS SHOULD BE KEPT CONFIDENTIALLY INFORMED OF PROGRESS OF THESE CONTACTS, "TO AVOID DISTRESS CAUSED TO PREIDENT'S WHO ONLY HEAR ABOUT THESE HAPPENINGS OF THE RADIO". AFRICANS MIGHT DIFFER ON HOW BEST TO PROMOTE LIBERATION, BUT NIGERIA SUPPORTED THE TANZANIAN POSITION PAPER STATEMENT THAT IMPORTANT THING WAS TO FACILITATE WORK OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND "NEVER IN ANY WAY TO USURP THEIR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AUTHORITY IN THEIR COUNTRY". AFRICA HAD ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED MUCH, NONVIOLENTLY, ON THE INTERNATIONAL PLANS. ARIKPO SAID AFRICA SHOULD ALSO USE HER FRIENDS, SUCH AS BY ENCOURAGING OPEC MEMBERS TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE AGAINST APARTHEID. HE DENIED RUMORS THAT NIGERIAN BUSINESSMEN HAD RECENTLY VISITED SOUTH AFRICA, AND SAID NO SUCH VISITS BY NIGERIANS, EVEN AS TOURISTS, WERE PERMITTED.

5. GHANA'S FOREIGN MINISTER LT. COL. R.M. BAAH CALLED ON OAU AFRO-ARAB COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS WITH ARAB STATES TOTAL BOYCOTT OF OIL SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA, THIS WOULD CUT OFF 75 PERCENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S OIL AND RUIN HER ECONOMICALLY. ALL SHIPS CARRYING OIL TO SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE BARRED FROM AFRICAN PORTS. DIFFERENT SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO UNITE, AND OAU SHOULD CONSIDER WITHDRAWING RECOGNITION OF THOSE WHO REFUSE TO DO SO. WAYS OF INITIATING GUERILLA WARFARE IN SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. OAU SHOULD FIND A WAY TO ASSIST SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS CUT OFF SUPPLY OF MIGRANT LABOR. WITH REGARD RHODESIA, BAAH SAID FORCE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE USED UNTIL SMITH AGREES TO OAU OBJECTIVES.

6. ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ABDELAZIZ BOUTEFLIKA SPOKE AT LENGTH, REPORTEDLY FOR TWO HOURS; SPARSE REPORTING AVAILABLE INDICATES HE ENDORSED LIMITED CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA WHICH RESULTED IN FREEING OF RHODESIAN NATIONALIST LEADERS, BUT SAID IF VORSTER WANTED TO TALK HE SHOULD TALK TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. BOUTEFLIKA TOOK CREDIT FOR HAVING CALLED OAU SPECIAL SESSION.

7. SENEGAL'S FOREIGN MINISTER ASSANE SECK REPORTEDLY SAID LIBERATION MOVEMENTS SHOULD ATTEND ANY MEETINGS INVOLVING THEIR COUNTRIES.

8. TEXT OF TANZANIAN POSITION PAPER (REF B) PUBLISHED APRIL 10. LENGTHY AND THOUGHTFUL STATEMENT (WHICH WE WILL POUCH TO ADDRESSEES ALONG WITH OTHER AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS) OUTLINES SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION AND TANZANIAN POSITION ALONG LINES CONTAINED IN NYERERE'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OPENING ADDRESS (REF C) AND ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MWAANGA'S ADDRESS (REF D). MAIN POINT IS THAT AFRICA HAS TWO VERY DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

"INDEPENDENCE FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY ON THE BASIS OF MAJORITY RULE IN BOTH RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND AN END TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA". "AFRICA'S STRATEGY SHOULD BE TO SEPARATE THE TWO ISSUES AS FAR AS PRACTICAL", AND TO GIVE PRIORITY TO THE TWO COLONIAL CASES, WHERE "AFRICA NEEDS TO BE WILLING TO TALKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES . . . ABOUT THE MECHANICS OF A TRANSFER OF POWER AS SOON AS THERE IS ANY WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT OUR OBJECTIVES IN PRINCIPLE." POSITION PAPER SUGGESTS SUCH A WILLINGNESS MAY EXIST, THOUGH AFRICA MUST CONTINUE TO BE PREPARED TO FIGHT, THOUGH IN THIS RESPECT EVERYTHING MUST BE DONE TO UNITE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS BECAUSE IT IS NOT AFRICA'S DUTY "TO TRAIN AND ARM THE CONTENDERS IN A FUTURE CIVIL WAR, NOR TO SUPPORT ONE NATIONALIST GROUP IN FIGHTING AGAINST ANOTHER."

9. SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF IS A DIFFERENT CASE, PAPER SUGGESTS, AND "TALKING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON APARTHEID IS WORSE THAN IRRELEVANT. HERE AFRICA MUST UNITE TO "MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN ITS TOTAL BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA", NOT BECAUSE IT WILL BRING DOWN THE RACIST REGIME, BUT BECAUSE "IT WILL GIVE HEART TO THE NON-WHITE PEOPLES TO KNOW THAT THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA ARE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR PROBLEM AND WANT TO HELP. ITS EXTENSION THROUGH THE WORLD MAY FORCE THE WHITES TO REALIZE THAT THEIR BEHAVIOR LEADS TO ISOLATION FROM DECENT HUMAN SOCIETY.

10. COMMENT: HAVING PRESSED ITS CASE FOR CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, TANZANIA HAS NOW UNVEILED THE OTHER SIDE OF ITS DUAL POLICY - A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN AFRICAN PRESSURE TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, AND CULTURALLY. THIS SECOND SIDE MAY BE IN PART AN EFFORT TO NEUTRALIZE MILITANT CRITICISM OF THE FIRST. TANZANIA CLEARLY DISTINGUISHES ON PRAGMATIC GROUNDS BETWEEN RHODESIA LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND NAMIBIA ON THE ONE HAND AND SOUTH AFRICA ON THE OTHER. THE 1969 LUSAKA MANIFESTO SAID THAT PERHAPS INTERNATIONAL LAW MEANT ONLY BOYCOTT COULD PROPERLY BE USED AGAINST A RECOGNIZED SOVEREIGN NATION LIKE SOUTH AFRICA, AND THERE IS A SUGGESTION OF THIS IN THE TANZANIAN POSITION PAPER. SOME OF THE POINTS IN MALECELA'S ACTION PROGRAM, NOTABLY THAT CONCERNING TRAINING IN GUERRILLA WARFARE, HOWEVER, SUGGEST THAT TANZANIA MAY NOW FAOR A MORE ACTIVIST AFRICAN ROLE, AT LEAST IN THE FUTURE WHEN THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN ISSUES HAVE BEEN RE-

SOLVED.

11. IT IS HARD TO ESTIMATE WHETHER TANZANIAN VIEWS
ARE CARRYING THE DAY, IN PART BECAUSE OF STRONG
TANZANIAN CONTROLS OVER WHAT COMES OUT OF THE SESSIONS;
NEWSMEN ARE EXCLUDED FROM SESSIONS THEMSELVES, AND
TANZANIAN VERSIONS HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY CONFINED TO PRO-
TANZANIAN STATEMENTS. IN THIS SENSE, HOLDING MEETING
IN TANZANIAN CAPITAL IS A BIG HELP TO TANZANIA AND ITS
ALLIES. SUPPORT FROM NIGERIA, HOWEVER, SHOULD SWING
BALANCE TO TANZANIAN POSITION.
CARTER

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